2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

"The Keeper and the Sacred House go together. They were decreed in the beginning by Elder Brother" (2). Some thought that in very ancient times this Keeper was the only official. "He went to Elder Brother and got his directions. Then he came back and showed the people what to do" (20). "He went before them like a light. He was their teacher and their father" (40). "He got the Wise Speeches from Elder Brother himself" (4). He was, in fact, a priestly ruler, much like the cacique in the Rio Grande pueblos.

His principal duty was the handling of the fetish which gave the village rain and therefore life. This meant the care of the sacred house where the fetish was lodged on important occasions and, finally, the presiding over all meetings held there. In the earliest times, he lived in the ceremonial house and received the men there for meetings while his family slept. At present, he lives beside it and his wife keeps it clean.

The house was used for meetings both ceremonial and secular and, on such occasions, it was the Keeper's duty to make the fire (hence one of his titles) and then mount to the roof of his shade and summon the men. Sometimes he had younger men to perform both of these functions for him. He called meetings to decide on the dates of ceremonies and whenever the other officials, the war, hunt and game leaders, had communications to make. When the men assembled, he sat at the west of the house, facing the door and opened the meeting with a moral talk bidding them pay attention to what was to be said and use their best judgment.

He acted as priest in all the important local ceremonies held for rain, for growth and for cleansing of crops and must know the appropriate Wise Speeches for each occasion. One informant gave him perquisites which remind one most strongly of the Pueblo cacique. "He must not be bothered with quarrelling. The people used to till his land for him because he worked so hard in the ceremonies." Certainly his land is not tilled for him now, and I have known an old Keeper in actual want because even his young relatives neglected him.

Beside his priestly functions, the Keeper acted as a patriarchal advisor to the village. The importance we give to this duty must depend on whether we consider the secular governor a modern official or an old one. Certainly the reliance on some aged leader as a patriarch and almost a dictator to the village is a pronounced Papago custom. At present that leader is often the secular governor and we need to consider whether he has always had such functions or has taken them over from the priestly leader. In view of the frequent statements that the Keeper was once the only village head,

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

793 I am inclined to consider the governor an innovation, gradually usurping the functions of the ancient informal leader and adding to them.

622 624 Legends represent the people as applying in all crises to "him who goes before us" and taking his advice as to what to do. At present this ancient leader may still be the chief power in a village, sometimes using the secular governor as a "front" but in one case boldly issuing orders in his own name. However, his power is rapidly declining. The White officials take no cognizance of him and, unless he is a man of powerful personality, he is reduced to a routine ceremonialist who appears only once or twice a year. The list of villages shows an X against those which have a fetish and a Keeper of the Meeting. All the northern villages have both while in some of the southern ones, which have come under intensive Christianizing influence, both have entirely disappeared.

793 The Keeper generally chose his own successor in office from among the male members of his family best suited to the duties. Accounts of the exact arrangements for succession varied in different localities, some informants stating:

"The Keeper chose his own successor. Nobody could criticise," and also, "When a Keeper died, the Elders would go to his brother or someone and say: 'You knew his ways best. You had better lead us'." The latter would seem to be an occurrence of recent times, when anyone with ceremonial knowledge is hard to find.

[623] I am inclined to give most weight to those accounts which state that the successor, having been chosen by the Keeper, must be approved by the council of elders since this is in accord with general practice in the area. If, according to these accounts, the elders disapproved, they would make their own selection and the Keeper would be obliged to instruct the new candidate.

Since the learning of the rituals was a very long task, the successor was chosen long before the Keeper was ready to quit his office and acted for years as a ceremonial assistant. Such a deputy was never a very young man since the young were not considered competent for ceremonial functions. He might be the Keeper's brother or a classificatory sibling somewhat younger than himself. At Santa Rosa the Keeper, who is somewhere near ninety, has an assistant of seventy who stands with him during rituals and sometimes makes the speech himself; this man is a very distant relative.

[202] But the Keeper had also a young man as messenger, known as his Leg. This man often made the fire for him, called out the announcements if there was no crier and took messages to people at a distance. He was in line for the office and was expected to

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

learn the ritual so that when he himself was middle aged he would be ready for the succession. The man who is Leg at Santa Rosa is father's brother's son's daughter's son to the present Keeper. But in this case the Keeper has other assistants, especially assigned to him by the council because of his great age. They are called his Eyes, his Ears and his Voice, and seem to have been appointed as a special favor because the aged official had trouble in seeing, hearing and in speaking loud.

New villages and villages where the Keeper died suddenly, sometimes appointed a Keeper with few formalities. Standing Rock, founded from Mesquite Root, had no fetish and returned to the home town for ceremonies, but they built a house for meetings and selected one of the older men whom they called Keeper. He performed the routine duties and, when the village wanted a rain ceremony of its own, borrowed the fetish from Mesquite Root and invited the speaker from there. The Keeper at Coyote Village died without a successor and the people insisted that his brother take the office, even without knowing the speeches. They invited any speakers they could find. At present, when Wise speakers are growing scarce, a man who knows any portion of the speeches, even if he has no official position, will be invited to recite them.

THE CRIER

Papago organization being always of a flexible and informal sort, the office of crier was not a fixed one. "The Keeper, if he had a strong voice, would make his announcements himself" (22), while the Hunt and Game leaders would make theirs. But some villages had the system found in the Pueblos of a regular official to make the announcements and to pass his office on by loose heredity. We may conjecture that this was the official pattern and that it was the smaller and poorer villages who cut down the number of officials.

In most large Field villages, the people were awakened every morning and the men called to meeting every evening. The calls seem to have been standardized for each village or perhaps for each individual crier, since any informant was immediately able to recite the official call, but they were all different.

Dawn Call (Komarik) 19

It is daylight. All around is visible the land.
Come forth and see what is around us.

Dawn Call (Kaworik) 14

Hurry! Awake! That you may do something good.
That for the villagers it may be good!

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

202 If any communal activity had been agreed upon at the meeting, the
512 announcement of this followed the call. At sunset the men were summoned to the Big House.

Call to Meeting (Vamori) 25

Now thus let us arrange to do: let us hold our meeting! Now here, under the west, let them sit down, the elders! Thus says our leader, that we shall assemble; that we shall sit down. The under-the-greasewood-growing tobacco we call for and we request the under-the-grease-wood-growing tobacco. All our friends, let them assemble and let them speak.

Evening Call (Kaworik) 14

Hither come at evening. Then we will surround the fire we have made and we will make ready that which we shall do for our future. And do you bring your tobacco.

Evening Call (Komarik) 19

Hither come. Hither bring your cigarette. We will smoke and speak of something.

If an emergency arose during the day, the men might be called from the fields.

Danger Call (Komarik) 9

Let us assemble!
A man has come running and tells of danger.
Assemble and listen!

Special calls were also used before all the ceremonies. These were more elaborate.

Call to Sing while Liquor ferments
(Archie) 27

Our fire has burned and the sun has gone down. Our fire has burned and the sun has gone down. You have eaten your meal. Now come together, following our old custom. It will not be long. Two nights we will sing and then go back to work. Come, do your part, so that the shaman can divine what will happen. This is our old custom. It is not new. It has continued for long.

WAR LEADER

624 The war leader was, in ancient times, like the Keeper, a ceremonial
701 official whose first duty was to know the war ritual and to recite it on the proper occasions. He received his office from his predecessor, just as the Keeper did his, and held it to old age. It was he who

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

directed a war party and planned its strategy even if he was too old to do much fighting himself. 624 701

But there was often a younger man to head the actual fighting. It was difficult to get data on this field leader since the very oldest people were children at the time of the last fighting. But as in other cases, it would appear that the practice differed in different villages. In San Xavier and Komarik he was a different man each time. In Komarik he was chosen by the elders as the most capable young warrior, in San Xavier, he volunteered and got up a war party in the Plains fashion to take vengeance on the Apache for slain relatives. Archie had a more or less permanent field leader chosen for prowess and known as the Bitter Man, "because he would not give in to the Apache." Kuhatk had also such a leader and it was understood that when Kuhatk and Archie went on the warpath together, Kuhatk should lead "because it had been given them by Elder Brother to be the best fighters."

HUNT LEADER

The Papagos hunted deer, hare and rabbit, small rodents and birds. Most of this work was done by individuals or small unofficial groups. But deer was hunted officially for the cleansing ceremony in the autumn and there were communal rabbit drives when visitors were to be feasted, especially at the time of the drinking ceremony before the rains. For communal hunts of both kinds, there was a leader who set the day, chose the locality, called the people together at dawn, appointed the beaters and made the required speech. His title was tópetam, rabbiter. He passed his office down, as did the others, by instructing a younger man, usually a kinsman, and finally asking the council to ratify his appointment as the new leader. 224 624

GAME LEADER

The title of this official was tópetam tcíticvi, rabbiter for games. Probably the hunt leader originally had the function, since the communal drive and the athletic contest require similar organization. But in many villages the office of game leader was so important that it was held by a special man. His duty was to make the arrangements for inter-village games, see that the runners were properly trained, take charge of the party on the march to the challenged village, lead the cheering, argue for his side in the matter of fouls, appoint the referees, see that the relay runners got off in the proper order. His ceremonial duty was the recitation of a speech before the contest began. 526 624

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

624 526 Like the war leader, this ceremonial official might have a younger assistant to lead the cheering and argue the possible fouls. The women contestants had a woman for this function "since it would not be right for a woman to argue with a man."

SONG LEADER

624 533 A man with a loud voice and a memory for songs was chosen to lead the communal singing, particularly at the liquor fermentation. He usually asked certain good singers to stand next to him and head the line.

THE COUNCIL

623 In every village, or even where two or three families were camping together, a nightly men's meeting was held. This was the real governing power of the community. It decided on communal activities: agricultural work, hunts, war, the dates of ceremonies, games with other villages. It approved the installation of a chief or of new residents in the village. "And if there was nothing to discuss, they would come together and talk." (21). Men reported whether they had seen tracks of enemies or of deer. Visitors from other villages were welcomed and questioned.

[689] Attendance was a duty for every man and in the myths a man who absented himself was dealt with by a deputation. There was no point at which a boy became officially eligible but when he seemed old enough to understand and wanted to go, some older relative [562] would take him. Women were not admitted but when something interesting was discussed, they would stand outside and listen. "But [756] we didn't do it much, because our husbands came home and told us." According to two informants, the shaman was excluded as a possible sorcerer (1).

There was a distinction between the men who formed the actual deliberative body and the listeners. The word s'tcu-amitcu'ṭ means wise, or able. It was not an official title but was applied to men who had shown themselves fit to take part in the council. In some villages these were selected by the Keeper of the Meeting (15, 11), who would test a promising mature man by having him make ex tempore, one of the usual speeches of admonition and seeing if he remembered all the points (21). "He must have good judgment and a quick understanding of what is said. The old men were always [554] looking out for people like that." In some villages no man was expected to speak unless he were a "ripe man", that is, had been through the purification incident on salt gathering or enemy killing (9). In others enemy killing was the qualification (25). Or

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that you shall make bows, that you shall be watchful. When the enemy will arrive, you do not know. It may be at night that he will come—at night, or in the morning, or when the sun stands almost anywhere. Beside you do you place your bow that you may snatch it up and fight. Early in the morning do you eat, that you may be able to fight. Always I say this. Every evening I say it to you at the meeting, that you shall keep near you your bow, your hunting arrows, your war arrows, your quiver." "Your women, very early let them cook. Let them feed the youths that they may fight the enemy, wherever the sun stands. Let them fetch water, let them search for firewood, that they may cook something. Early in the morning let them practise running, that when the enemy arrives they may run far down yonder and save themselves."

"This I recite and this I say to you. Do you listen and let it enter your ears and enter your head. (26)

Hunting

"Early in the morning you will rise, you will run far yonder to the foot of the mountain range. You will chase something, you will kill it, you will bring it home and therewith feed yourself. White-tailed deer you will follow, black-tailed deer you will follow and therewith feed yourself and live. This is our food, thus said he, whoever he is, who made us. The deer did he make that you should kill it and eat. Look! thus they shall live, our young men. The deer shall they follow, they shall hunt and shall kill. Thus they will be great runners. Thus they shall do, the people. From long ago has this been done and therewith it has been well. (21)

Planting

"Something again I say to all you villagers, that therewith you may be alert. You will cause the rain to fall and you will plant something." (21)

At the close of the speech, each man in turn, beginning at the right of the speaker, called him loudly by the kinship term, while the speaker responded with the reciprocal. This was the ritual performance of *imik iimi'k himatcu't*, passing the kinship term, which constituted applause on any occasion. One village was said to have had an official, the passer-of-kinship-terms, who always started this applause and saw that it was properly carried around the circle (9). An unrelated man would say "friend", but such a person was rare unless he was a visitor from another village.

If there was tobacco enough, there might be another ritual smoking and perhaps a period of silent thought. Then any proposal

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In one respect, the Papago vision differs both from that of the Yumans and that of the Plains. In these areas, the experience is essentially democratic, opening to him who achieves it, every avenue of advance. But the Papago dream brought success only in racing, gambling, war and curing. Planting was taken care of by communal ritual and office, both ceremonial and secular, descended by heredity, without benefit of vision. It seems possible to relate this importance of the hierarchy to Pueblo influence. We have mentioned that the group of officiers in a Papago village is a simplified version of that found in the western Pueblos where, also, office derives from family status. Wheter this group was imposed on a society which already had the vision formula or whether that formula found them already established, they would serve as a barrier to the principle that all avenues were open to the dreamer.

NAMES

An experience of adult life which, from the Papago point of view, must be placed among the crucial ones was the receiving of a nickname. This was actually the appellation by which a man was called while his shaman-given name passed into disuse. Women did not receive nicknames but instead were often the givers.

A distinguishing characteristic of Papago names is that they usually have more reference to the giver than to the person named. This is the case with shaman-given names which describe something the shaman has seen in a dream. The dream has no connection with the child to be named except that, as is apparent from the examples, dreams referring to flowers and plants are used for women. There may have been other distinctions of the same sort. Some shaman-given names follow:

Men	Women
Circling Light	Rushing Light Beams
Daylight Comes	Rustling Leaves
Wind Rainbow	Wind Leaves
Cloud Rainbow	Blossom Tips
Rainbow Shaman	Feather Leaves
Having a Rainbow as a Bow	Singing Dawn
Shining Beetle	Sifting
Hawk Flying Over Water Holes	Flowers Trembling
Chief of Jackrabbits	Leaves Flying
Crooked Shining	Water Drops on Leaves
Thundering Wings	Leaf Blossoms
Short Wings	Foamy Water
Shining Evening	

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

MARRIAGE AND SEX BEHAVIOR

595 Polygynous marriage was approved but not practised by every one. Old men, particularly the shaman and the Keeper of the [756 Meeting, often had four wives but most had two. Very young men 624] had only one.

The sororate was in full force. If a man had married one daughter 595 in a family, it was expected as a matter of course, that he would take all the others as they matured, even while the first wife was living. 587 The junior levirate is a vague tradition. It was "a good thing" if a man's younger brother married his widow but it was not required. Some informants had not even heard of the tradition.

Marriage was arranged by the bride's parents. They saw that 582 their daughter's breasts were large and they said, "They should be 584 used for something." This might be immediately after puberty. It was felt that marriage should synchronize with the awakening of sex interest and some informants even quote twelve as a marriageable age for a girl. (1) The husband, if this were his first marriage, might be sixteen or seventeen. He and his young bride were by no [591] means considered adults but lived with the groom's parents in a state of tutelage until they had several children.

The choosing of a mate for the first daughter in the family was subject to certain rules. There were no clan or moiety restrictions, but the youth should not be a relative, that is, a lineal descendant of any one of the bride's great grandparents. Also he should be from another village. This latter was a social rule but not enforced by supernatural punishments as was exogamy among relatives. If the girl's father had been wounded by an Apache, she should marry the son of a man so wounded, since it produced a form of family taint that must not be spread.

Having decided on a mate, the girl's parents consulted the adult 584 relatives of the father's lineage and of the mother's. All gave their opinion as to whether the youth was industrious and a good runner and if they decided that he was eligible, the girl's parents called on his parents with the proposal: "We have an industrious daughter. We offer her to your son."

The boy's parents, if they objected to the girl, would take care not to be at home for to refuse would be an insult. But if the boy were already affianced, it was proper to say: "He has already been given a girl." Otherwise they replied: "We think as you do." A

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
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CHAPTER VII

VISIT TO A VERY SACRED PLACE—THE CHILDREN'S SACRIFICE —A MEETING WITH AN IMPORTANT PERSONAGE—ÁNEKAM— PRIMITIVE NATIVES—I ARRIVE AMONG THE KOHATK PEOPLE —A WET NIGHT—RETURN TO SANTA ROSA

ALL the while I had not forgotten what my talkative woman friend at the last stopping place had told me. "Get an old man to show you the children's cemetery," she said, "and you will see many things." As soon as I considered my acquaintance with Simon to be sufficiently well established, I asked him if he would not take me to the place where the children had been buried. "It would be well to get the chief's permission for that," he answered after some hesitation. Accordingly Pablo and I mounted our horses and, accompanied by Simon, also on horseback, started off with the prospect of an interesting afternoon's experience before us. The place was not far away, perhaps three miles off, but it was already five o'clock and, as we first had to secure the permission, we hurried along.

Simon is very quick in his movements and, there being no time to waste, we confidently followed in his wake. We arrived at the camp of one of the principal men, a leader of the annual salt expedition to the gulf, with whom on the previous day I had had a long interview. He was one of those old-fashioned, simple-minded,

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
NU28 Papago NU28

624 773 though intelligent, barbarians who give the serious inquirer clear, absolutely straightforward information, and I had no objection to hearing from his mouth some more about the ancient traditions of the Papago. He told us of a spring that once had threatened to flood not only the great valley of the Santa Rosa, but the whole Papago country. Four children, two boys and two girls, had to be put into the fountain in order to stop the water from flooding. The sacrifice had availed and ever afterward this had been a most sacred locality, of which the Papagoes took great care. He asked us what we wanted to do there. Being assured of our harmless intentions, and Simon being a great friend of his, he had no objections to our proposed visit, and I paid him two dollars for the permission.

624 626 Our next call would be, I expected, on the chief. Simon, on his quick-gaited steed, rode ahead of us, and soon disappeared from view in the winding arroyo, which we entered. This arroyo led among the scattered ranches of Santa Rosa up to the base of the mountain range, where lay the object of our trip. On an easy grade we travelled quickly over the sand and gravel that the rains of previous years had washed down from the mountains so as to fill the arroyo bed. On both sides grew thickets of desert willows, arrowbushes, and a peculiar light green bush with long, needle-like leaves, from which the Indians make prayer-sticks. We followed this beautiful arroyo for a couple of miles, and I was congratulating myself on getting away unobserved by the multitude. Pablo and I spurred our horses along and we gradually

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
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gained on our swift guide, who suddenly left our safe arroyo, now narrowing as we approached the base of the mountains. We passed a couple of hundred yards above the last houses of the rancheria and were making fast for our goal, when a man on a brown horse appeared, coming toward us at a furious gait, followed by a white colt. Just as we reached the main road he caught up with us. Although he preserved a calm demeanor, his eyes, when he halted us, betrayed excitement. It was the old familiar case of Indians knowing in a mysterious way well-nigh everything that is going on, as if they had telephones and telegraphs.

"Where are you bound?" he asked. Simon looked scared when answering the question.

"That place," the new-comer retorted, "belongs to many people, and one man alone cannot give the permission to visit it. I am the chief of this rancheria. Why did you not come to me?"

Simon evidently had committed a serious breach of etiquette by letting the matter rest with his friend, the director of the salt expeditions. He tried to explain his action as being due to the absence of the chief in the fields. For a man with so much initiative and such unusual frankness, it seemed amazing that he should have made such a blunder. Judging from the way he repeated over and over again his one line of defence, his case was a weak one. The chief evidently was right, and finally, turning his horse toward the rancheria and starting back, he said he did not want us to go to that place.

This was more than I could endure, so I, with Pablo,

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
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624 626 rode after him, and began negotiations in my own way. He soon became more tractable. "The place is sacred," he said, "and not everybody who comes along can see it." The Indians had gone to much trouble to keep up its proper appointments. He was going to bring this matter before the Big House, the lodge, that very evening, and the people would decide in the case. The prospect of vague and possibly endless delay was not exactly to my taste, so I proposed another way out of the difficulty, that of paying to him and to the other big man of the tribe, the Keeper of the Smoke, the same sum that I had already paid the first principal man.

624 626 778 Gratified at seeing the negotiations happily concluded, I presented him with tobacco and candy, which he smilingly put into his trousers pockets. He said we could go to the cemetery that afternoon and next morning return to look it over more carefully. To my suggestion that it was too late in the day to continue the trip, he answered that the place was close by. He admonished us only to be careful not to disturb anything, and thus we separated all in a pleasant mood. 778 The cemetery was nearer than I had expected; after having followed the road for ten minutes, Simon told us that we had arrived. The country was now level and covered with greasewood bushes all around. We found ourselves at the beginning of a broad pass, through which the road from Santa Rosa leads westward to a mountain.

We tied our horses and walked aside from the road some twenty yards, when my eyes caught sight of a circular enclosure made from upright split ocotillo (*fou-*

17:Castetter & Underhill N.E-5 (1931-1934) 1935
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Indian games of hidden ball, stick dice, and "quince" was one means to fame and prosperity. Athletic contests in which the youths of the different villages contended at kick ball and relay racing were yearly events, and a fast runner, famous in racing, was as highly esteemed as any warrior.

In government[1] the Papago unit was the village. There were several large villages, each with a few outlying settlements which were governmentally a part of it, obeying its officers and taking part in all its ceremonies. The head man of this village had no executive authority but was rather a patriarch and a priest. He knew the ritual for the different ceremonies and had charge of the sacred objects belonging to the village. His title has been translated "Keeper of the Smoke."

The brush house in which he lived was made extra large and was used as a meeting place by the men of the village, who formed an informal council. The Keeper of the Smoke passed his functions to a male relative or descendant, but there was no rule of primogeniture. Any of his relatives who seemed best suited would be instructed by him in the duties of office, but the village as a whole must finally ratify the choice. The villages each had a crier who called to the council meeting and to war. They might have an elected war leader if the Keeper of the Smoke were not fitted for battle.

After the coming of the Spaniards a much more rigid organization was adopted. The Spaniards installed in their villages a "governor" who was an executive with authority and power to punish evil doers by flogging. At least in the part of Papagueria nearest to Mexico this custom continued until recent times, so that now there is much confusion between the old idea of the village patriarch and the modern one of governor or chief.

The Papagos were divided into sibs with descent in the male line. Even in tradition, however, these gentes did not affect the marriage rules; one knew to which gens

1. This section dealing with government and social organization has been abstracted from *Papago Social Organization* by Ruth Underhill (in preparation).